42:Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *aziwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumińidíń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Anán* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *silávon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *dilán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

larger trees excepted, nevertheless there are a few objects about which he should be extremely careful. 243 824

First of all we have the *amitál*, a kind of woody vine with elongated leaves, that may be found in almost any brake or bushy plot of ground. In case the Isneg comes upon it while busy clearing his field, he should stop immediately, go home, and stay there all through the next day, making the latter a *núlin* or holiday. This *amitál* is by far the worst of all, as it retards the progress of the work considerably; others are not so bad.

The *lapát úlag*, for instance, a kind of tree usually growing to a considerable size if left to thrive without interruption, must not be cut down in the *kómān* under any pretext whatsoever, because if the Isneg fails to heed this prohibition, the rats will inevitably destroy the rice that might happen to grow on this field. The *lapát úlag* is easily noticeable by its absence of branches, all leaves growing directly on the trunk, and by its large leaves which measure approximately fifteen by five inches.

Then there is the *lúbo-*, a herbaceous vine that grows in forested areas: not only must it remain untouched, but the place where it grows should be excluded at any price from the *kómān* or rice field, otherwise a member of the owner's family will die before the end of the season. Consequently the *lúbo-* often obliges the farmer to alter completely the shape of his *kómān*, so as to keep the ground on which it grows at the outside of his future rice field. In some districts the same nefarious influence is attributed to a herbaceous vine which the natives call *bitál*, but which is probably the same as the *lúbo-*: the name *bitál* may have been given to it on account of the properties of the *bitál*-knot of vines, which will be described presently.

Another taboo has to do with the *pirúy*-instrument which the farmer is absolutely forbidden to carry or play in the field, for the whole time that elapses between the *sarsár* and the end of the harvest. Even a stranger who happens to have a *pirúy* on his person, when entering the field, must be warned not to play it; usually, however, he will know about the prohibition without needing a warning. The reason of this taboo is that the sound of the *pirúy* attracts the birds and causes them invariably to come and ravage the field before the end of the harvest. This *pirúy* (fig. 3) consists of a small piece of bamboo in which two parallel slits have been cut lengthwise, without entirely severing the intervening portion from its adjacent parts; this central part is then lifted up by means of a small stick, that has been slid 243 534 124

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

[534] 243 784 under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made *kómān*.

243 825 789 A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

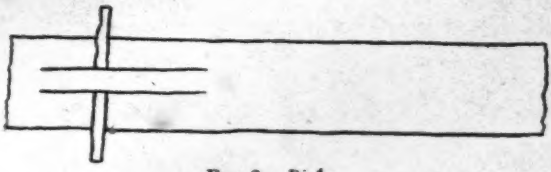

Fig. 3. *Piráy.*

243 262 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 824 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*níilin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

It is forbidden to whistle (*magpapannút*), whether in the *kómān* or in the *sízăy*, lest Pilay, the protector of the rice, run away. 243 784

Nobody is allowed to blow any kind of taro flower (*baríri*), lest a famine invade the district. The *baríri*, when blown upon, produces a very shrill sound.

The *patańgó-* must not be played in or around the rice field, lest the wind turn into a typhoon. The *patańgó-* is a section of bamboo, closed at one end, and cut out at the other end into a tapering tongue; one of its sides is provided with a small hole. It is played by striking its tongue either against one's left hand or against the upper end of a hatchet held in one's left hand, while pressing the thumb of one's right hand intermittently over the hole at its side. The tunefulness of the sound it produces depends on the length of its tongue. 243 784 534

Forging (*magbattál*) is prohibited in the village until all the inhabitants have completed the reaping of their fields. 243 784

People are not allowed to winnow (*magsáp*; *asáp*: chaff of rice) rice, although they are permitted to pound it. Winnowing rice at the time is supposed to cause typhoons. In this instance we have a definite proof of the fact that not all taboos remain in force as long as the harvest lasts; indeed, after reaping has been progressing for some time, the Isneg roast immature rice, which they have to pound and winnow before they are able to eat it.

No outsider is permitted to enter a field where reapers are at work. This applies very particularly to all who are not Isneg.

Nobody is allowed to enter the house of the owner of such a field, the members of the household alone excepted.

No outsider is permitted to enter the *baláwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), and of the owners only those that are not actually binding palay into bundles. On the other hand, it is absolutely required to have a *baláwa* in readiness, before the harvest begins; should this be overlooked, the spirits will be angry and they may even resort to killing.

In some sections of Apayaw, it is forbidden to *maxappó-* (to eat in another man's house) in the house of anybody who owns another *bańíbāń* (palay piled up in the *sízăy*). If both persons own the same *bańíbān*, they are allowed to eat in each other's house.

No fire may be taken from the hearth, to be given to somebody outside of the house.

Nobody is allowed to *magtósa*, to draw water by holding a receptacle under a waterfall (*barańóboń*) and allowing the water to drop into it.

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his
584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews-
● [534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the
[836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair. for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he
534 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk-